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## REMARKS ON SHINA LOANS IN BURUSHASKI

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Burushaski is full of words borrowed from the Gilgit dialect of the neighbouring Shina, but only a part of them are found in Bailey's description of this language.<sup>1</sup> In his dictionary of Burushaski, Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer gives Shina correspondences of quite a number of Burushaski words not recurrent in Bailey's grammar. As long as no further field notes on Shina vocabulary are collected or published, Lorimer's work constitutes a valuable source of Shina lexicography. The present paper, in a restricted compass, aims to discuss several words alleged in Lorimer's dictionary or detected in my own notes.<sup>2</sup> As the occurrence of a Burushaski word in Shina does not stringently imply that it has been borrowed from Shina into Burushaski - there are also numerous instances the other way round - I have exclusively selected words for which a Sanskrit etymology could be traced. In a few cases where even Lorimer does not adduce a Shina correspondence, the Indo-Aryan 'origin can be inferred solely from etymology or from morphological peculiarities. Apart from recent Shina loans that are in nowise or only in a small degree phonetically changed, Burushaski has some older borrowings from Indo-Aryan, of which correspondences are missing in present-day Shina. Whether they have been transferred from a dialect different from Shina, or whether those words are no longer extant in later Shina or not yet recorded by chance, cannot be decided. A few examples of this type are communicated at the end of this paper, together with some other loans of interest belonging to none of the two types.

1. Burushaski kóor 'cave (in earth or rock cliff), shelter under overhanging cliff' < Shina kóor (L235 b)

< Sanskrit Koṭara 'the hollow of a tree; cave, cavity'. In Shina simple t is lost between vowels cf. gāi 'earthen pot'

< Skt. Ghaṭikā. Skt. kōṭara is also preserved in Hindi khodār, Oriya korara a.o., Turner IA 3496. Bur. kōri 'boot' Sh. kōare (L235 B) seems to be derived from the same word.

2. Bur. rūu (with low rising tone) 'healing of wound, joining of edges of cut' Sh. rū waoiki 'to close, come together, of a wound' (L 304 b, waoiki 'to come') < Skt roha 'rising mounting; growth, increase', for the meaning cf. ksatara-hana 'healing or closing of a wound'. The low rising tone in Bur points to the loss of h, cf. my article WZSOA V (1961), p. 54. It is certainly to be assumed in the Sh. word too, but as usual not marked by Lorimer.

3. Bur. yom 'match, pair, duplicate; proper for, fitting for' (L385b) < Sh. \*yom? Skt. yugma 'adj. even (as opp. to 'odd'); n. a pair, couple, brace; twins'. Lorimer gives no Sh. equivalent, but the derivation from an older \*yomma is evident, cf. Prakrit jumma < yugma. Y is retained in Sh. and not changed into J as in the languages of the Peninsula.

4. Bur. -yog 'toilet, titivating (includes washing and cleaning oneself and dressing up)' < Sh. yuk thoiki 'to swagger in new clothes etc.', Khowar yug 'korik id. (L392b), < Skt. yoga 'useful, proper, fit for, etc.', or yogya 'preparation, exercise, practice.'

5. Bur. jigá 'long, for a long time' (Sh. jigo 'long', jiga 'for a long time' (L392b) < \*driggho, by Dardic metathesis < Skt. dirgha 'long'. Bur. jēek 'extended, stretched out, prostrate, lying down', < Sh. jēk (GB 169, L 217 b) is apparently related, but the details are not clear; Morgenstierne derives it from Skt. drāghita 'lengthened', but simple -gh- is not retained in Sh.

6. Bur. kái 'soup' < Sh. kai (L 230 b) < Skt. kāñjika, -ka 'sour gruel, water of boiled rice in a state of spontaneous fermentation', which itself is borrowed from Dravidian, cf.

Tam. kañci, Kanar. gañji etc. 'rice-water, gruel', Burrow-Emenau DED 927. For the treatment of न्त cf. pōi '5' < pañca.

7. Bur. kalamuto 'base of external ear, flesh of ear' (L 227 a). Lorimer has no equivalent in Sh., but it may have been dissimilated from \*kanamuto, i.e. \*kanei muto, 'thick of the ear', from kon, gen. konei 'ear' (older \*kan) and a word corresponding to Hindi mota, Panjabi motta, etc. 'fat, stout, thick'. Sh. \*mōto or \*muto 'fat' is perhaps also preserved in Bur. mōjis 'very fat (said of small cattle)'; for the ending cf. Yaripis 'poor fellow' from Yariip 'poor' (< Urdu Yarib).

8. Bur. bīm 'fright, threat, intimidation' < Sh. \*bīm (not in L) < Skt. bhīma 'fearful, terrific'. From the same stem also Bur. bik 'afraid, alarmed; fear, fright' with a secondary k-suffix.

9. Bur. čhur 'knife' < \*čhur (L 102 a wrongly čūr) 'small knife' < Skt. kṣura.

10. Bur. sújo 'pure, sacred, holy' < Sh. sujo (L 317 b) < Skt. sujāta 'well born, noble, fine, beautiful', cf. ájo 'bad' in the Yas. dialect, formally < Skt. ajāta 'unborn', but with changed meaning contrary to sújo. In the Hz. dialect perhaps in čajo 'an exclamation of pain, groan' with exclamatory vowel lengthening.

11. Bur. akás 'misfortune, calamity', sukás 'good fortune, success' (not in L) < Sh. ? Another pair with the Sanskrit prefixes su- and a-. akás can be phonetically derived from Skt. karga 'drawing, dragging, ploughing'; thus sukás, akás might be possibly terms of agriculture originally 'easy (or difficult) to plough'.

12. Bur. abás 'difficulty, trouble, hardship, calamity, misfortune; difficult etc.' < Sh. abas (L 7 b), Bur. subas 'what is easy, propitious, favourable' (L 317 a) < Skt. vasya 'subdued, tamed, humbled; dutiful, docile, humble' + prefixes a- and su-.

13. Bur. age'mo, fem. -i 'mischievous, dishonest person; rascal, villain, dangerous person' (l 8 b), from which a'guméi < \*aceméi, and Bur. suce'mo 'honest, of good character' (L 3,7 b), < Skt. ksema 'habitable, giving rest or ease or security; n. m. safety, tranquility, rest, etc.' + prefixes a- and su-. sukṣema is attested in Skt., but only as a noun with the meaning 'great prosperity or comfort or peacefulness', whereas the Sh. word points to an adjective of the bahuvrihi type. As kg results in ch in Sh., \*sukhe'mo would be expected. Perhaps Bur. ace'mo was influenced by acuméi, where the loss of aspiration was regular due to the shift of the accent, and g in Sh. is a mishearing for gh (cf. Lorimer's čür 'knife' for \*čhur, > Bur. čhur in Nr. 9).

14. Bur. śāñ 'awake, aware, care, heed, attention', < Sh. śón, śún, śián (L 322 a, śón also GB) < Skt. śanka 'apprehension, care, fear, suspicion, doubt'. The form śāñ, of which Lorimer's śián seems to be but a mishearing for a strong palatalisation of ś, retains the original vowel; the o of GB remains unexplained, but it is found again in the derivative Bur. āśāñō (my own notes), āśūñō (L) 'by chance' < Sh. āśiná, āśināyo 'unexpectedly, accidentally' (with privative a-, L 31 b), where the same variation of vowel qualities is found.

15. Bur. páyo 'wedge' < Sh. \*pado < Skt. pataka 'a splitter, divider' from pāyat 'to split, cleave, tear etc.', Sg. #d, which was omitted between vowels only in recent times, is represented by l in Yas. Bur., and preserved as f in Phalura, a close relative of Sh. spoken in Chitral, cf. Sh. khái 'shield' < \*khetikā (Skt. khetaka), but Phal. Kher. id. and Yas. khili 'shield'; here Hz. Bur. has already borrowed the later form without d (khii 'shield'). For Hz. páyo, Yas. has palo 'wedge'.

16. Bur. miná 'remains of kernels (after the oil has been extracted from them), oil-cake' > Sh. pino (L 266 a) < Skt. pinyāka 'oil-cake'. Initial stop in non-stressed syllables is voiced in Bur., cf. gisii 'line' < Skt. Kisi 'ploughing',

Bur. basa' 'turban' < Sh. pasò < Skt. prásna id., etc. Interchange of m and b is very common in Bur.; it seems that originally m was only a variant of b before a nasal in the same word, cf. e.g. be 'what' against men 'who' for #be-n. 17. Bur. dúšço man' 'to envy, bear ill-will to' (not in L) < Sh. \*dústo < Skt. dusta 'spoilt, corrupted, bad, wicked, inimical, offensive, etc.'. Modern Sh. shows both retention and assimilation of st, cf. mistu 'good' < Skt. mista, but tutu 'full of stomach' < Skt. tusta. st and st become sé and sc in Bur. cf. diſfik 'brick' < Skt. istakā, d-aſcal- besides d-aſtal-, causative of d-tal-.

18. Bur. garōono 'bridegroom', garōoni 'bride' < Sh. garōno, garōni (L 161 b and 162 a) < \*gharanako, \*gharapíkā, cf. Pali gharani 'housewife' from ghara 'house'. The intermediate stages were \*garhapi and an analogical \*garhano with metathesis of h which can be inferred from the low rising tone in Bur. (cf. Nr. 2); the o of the second syllable is due to umlaut in the masculine form (\*garhano > \*garhono, cf. Nr. 25). From this derivation it becomes clear that Sh. gar 'marriage' (> Bur. gar id.) is MLA ghara 'house', Sh. gar thoiki (Bur. gar ét-) meaning 'to make a (new) house (hold)'.

19. Bur. jomanacó 'without warning, suddenly' < Sh. jomanucó (L 393 b) 'dangerous, risky' by reduplicative repetition of the first syllable as in other words (e.g. čhorachór 'once upon a time' from čhor 'early') < \*jomano < \*drommanaso < Skt. daurmanasya 'dejectedness, melancholy, despair' from durmanas 'in bad or low spirits, sad'. There is some difference in meaning, but as manas in Skt. also means 'thought, imagination', a meaning 'out of thought, hardly to imagine' for durmanas and its vrddhi form is quite presumable.

20. Bur. jáalo 'raft of inflated skin' < Sh. jálo (L 212 a) < Skt. jälaka 'net, woven texture, web' from jala 'net'. The specialized meaning shows that the Sg. word is independently derived from Skt. and not from Urdu jálá as Bur. jáal 'net' < Urdu jál.

-o is regular in a- stems, cf. Sh. kon 'ear' < Skt. karno, don 'tooth' < \*dondō < Skt. danto, etc.

21. Bur. tan, tāno, taneélo 'bastard, base-born' (L 344 a, 345 a) < Sh ? < Skt tanaya 'family, race, offspring, child' with pejorative meaning. Sh. origin is cogently advocated by the doublet taneélo which looks like a past participle from a verbal stem \*tan- corresponding to Skt. tanoti 'to extend etc.', also 'to propagate'.

22. Bur. quásal 'to go wrong, be spoilt, become ruined' < Sh. kuśúlo, kuśelo 'broken, damaged' (L 300 b), a past participle in -lo (cf. Nr. 21) from a Sh. verbal stem \*kuś- < Skt. kusyate from kusnati 'to tear asunder, to pinch, to force or draw out, to extract'.

23. Bur. guneéco 'understanding, intelligent, competent, reflective' < Sh. guneeco, according to Lorimer (173 b) 'a regular agent form' of gunoiki 'to think' < Skt. gunavati 'to multiply', perhaps influenced in meaning by ganavati 'to count, number, reckon; consider, regard as etc.'. It is interesting not only because of its stem but also because of the ending -co, apparently from Skt. -ti or -trka of which no trace is found in GB's grammar.

24. Bur. Hz. pasōo, Nag. pasūu 'the man who sees in a dream when the female demons kill a man by slaughtering a goat'(not in L) from Sh. stem paś- 'see' < Skt. paśyati and a curious termination -ōo, which is also found in Sh. pasoo 'turban' (GB p. 156, > Bur. basá L 73 a) < \*pasrōo (?) < Skt. praśna id., and in asúnōo from san, see Nr. 14. From the verbal noun in -an (< Skt. -ana, cf. e.g. Sh. maran 'death' < Skt. marana) and the same ending -ōo also paśnōo (not in L), in Yas. Bur. 'row, uproar' (for the meaning cf. German colloquial ſpektakel show; row, uproar' < French spectacle).

25. Bur. mōon 'envy, jealousy' < Sh. ? < Skt. mana 'opinion, notion, conception, idea; purpose, wish, design; self-conceit, arrogance, pride; consideration, regard, respect, honour; a wounded sense of honour, anger or indignation excited by jealousy (especially in women), caprice, sulking'. Umlaut with subsequent loss of final

26. Bur. níronaan 'rainbow' < Sh. naron (L 277 a). The Sh. word has been derived from Skt. indrādhanus already by Turner IA 1577, but it has not been discovered as yet that also Bur. Nag. bijōn 'rainbow' < Sh. bijōn (L ib., GB 133) goes back to the same word. Its development was first: indrādhanus > \*indrārahānu > \*nidrahanu, then in Hunza the j of \*nijōn underwent the regular change to z, whereas in the Nag. dialect there was a double dissimilation of the first to n to m, later also to b. -an in níronaan is a common plural ending in Bur., but the length of the vowels of both -aan and níj- is not definite. ə in Sh. naron seems to be but a phonetic variant of i.

Loanwords which have been borrowed from an older stage of Sh. or some other Indo-Aryan language.

27. Bur. barc 'lightning; intense cold' (L 70 b) < Skt. vajra 'thunderbolt; diamond'. The metathesis or r would be typical Dardic, but the word is not recorded in Sh., and it is difficult to say whether it would have undergone further phonetic changes in the modern stage, for other examples of the consonantal group -ir- are missing in this language.

28. Bur. thómal (L 355 a), Nag. thóman (not in L) 'smoke of burning juniper twigs inhaled by soothsayers' < old Sh. \*dhuman, cf. modern Sh. diūm 'smoke', and Skt. dhūmanā 'the obscuration (of a planet)', also dhūnavaya, 'smoking, heat, fever'. Substitution of n by l in the Hz. dialect is due to dissimilation.

29. Bur. Hz. remízil 'stone-marten' (L 303 b), Nag. michir (not in L), Yas. ménzir 'a kind of fur animal (similar to a cat)' (not in L), from a NIA form derived from Prakrit mamjara, mamjara 'cat' < Skt. marjāra. Old Sh. ? Modern Sh. būsu 'cat' (Bur. bus) is a recent formation of an onomatopoetic type common to many languages, cf. English puss, pussy. The re- of the Hz. word is probably derived from Skt. rohita 'red'.

## NOTES

reddish; a red or chestnut horse'. In remizil there has been also dissimilation of the second r (< \*re-minzir), and also of the second nasal (< \*re-minzir).

30. Bur. tisk 'dagger' < Skt. tīkṣṇa 'sharp, hot pungent, acid', with lexicographers also 'iron; any weapon'. If from Sh., which has to-day tīpu, 'sharp (knife, scissors, razor), bright, clever', it must have been borrowed at a very early time. sk for Skt. ks instead of the later Dardic development ç also in biskín- 'to beg' from Skt. bhikṣā, čiṣkin- 'to complain, to bring an accusation against' < Skt. śikṣā, cf. G. Morgenstierne, NTS XIII (1942), p. 93.

## Other loans of interest.

31. Bur. hórkó 'plain, simple (of men), simpleton' (not in L) < Khowar horsk 'right, straight, true' < Iranian, cf. Vidgha urzuyid < Avest. arezu, cf. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages II, p. 192. It is interesting to find the same word as a loan nearly unchanged in Finno-Ugrian, cf. Finnish hurskas 'righteous, pious', > Lappish hurskes 'fastidious, honest', cf. Schlachter, MSS Beiheft A, p. 45.

32. Bur. bismán é- 'to circumcise' < Sh. bismūn (L 83 a), bismón (GB) 'circumcision', perhaps < Urdu bismillāh 'in the name of God', cf. Bur. bismillá é- 'to say 'bismillāh' (preparatory to doing something)' and Yas. Bur. besmél é- 'to slaughter'.

33. Bur. buyát 'representation, petition', Sh. buyát 'entrepreneur, petition, request' (L 90 b, GB). If < Pers. firyād, faryād 'an exclamation, cry for help or redress; complaint' (cf. firyādī 'a complainant, plaintiff'), it must have been borrowed from Bur. into Sh., because the voicing of stops in non-stressed initial syllables is typical for Bur. (cf. Nr. 16) and not found in Sh.

1. Grammar of the Shina (Sipā) Language; consisting of a full grammar, with texts and vocabulary of the main or Gilgiti dialect and briefer grammars (with vocabularies and texts) of the Kohistani, Guresi and Drasi dialects, by T. Grahame Bailey, London, 1924.

2. Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, The Burushaski Language, Vol. III: Vocabularies and Index, Oslo, 1938.

3. Cf. my two reports Anthropos Vol. 55 (1960) pp. 657-664, and Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research, No. 5, 1962, pp. 42-44.

As Lorimer's transcription of Bur. words is inaccurate and unreliable, I shall use my own phonemic writing. The above double vowels signifies the low rising tone, as in m̄don 'jealousy', not noticed by L. & is Lorimer's ts); the transcriptions of Shina words of both Bailey and Lorimer have been considerably simplified, because they contain many distinctions which are purely phonetic; vowel length is only marked if it is found in Bailey's grammar, for L is extremely unreliable on this point. ( ` marks the low rising tone).

## Abbreviations:

Bur. = Burushaski (Hunza dialect, if not specified otherwise)  
GB = T. Grahame Bailey's Shina Grammar, see N. 1.  
Hz. = the Hunza dialect of Burushaski.  
L = Lorimer's Dictionary of Bur., see N. 2.  
MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan.  
Nag. = the Nagari dialect of Burushaski.  
Sh. = Shina.  
Skt. = Sanskrit.

Turner IA = R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.

Turner Nep. = A Comparative & Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali language.

Yas. = the Yasin dialect of Burushaski.